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"THE GREAT RECKONING"

VICTORS IMPOSE TERMS ON DEFEATED GERMANY

Treaty Principles and Details Revealed on "Lusitania" Day



Rollin Kirby, in N. Y. World

TO THE DREGS

"For agony and spoil
Of nations beat to dust,
For poisoned air and tortured soil
And cold, commanded lust,
And every secret woe
The shuddering waters saw—
Willed and fulfilled by high and low—
Let them relearn the Law.

That when the dooms are read,
Not high nor low shall say—
'My haughty or my humble head
Has saved me in this day.'
That, till the end of time,
Their remnant shall recall
Their fathers' old, confederate crime
'Availed them not at all.'

Rudyard Kipling, in "The Years Between."

ENEMIES FACE EACH OTHER.

On May 7, the fourth anniversary of the sinking of the "Lusitania," in the Trianon Palace at Versailles, the treaty which the conference of the allied and associated powers had been fifteen weeks in framing and drafting, was formally presented to the plenipotentiaries of Germany, in a document approximating 80,000 words, which fact is not surprising, considering the vastness and the complexity of prob-

lems dealt with and the intention of the framers to make most explicit and not evadable the terms imposed. Present as witnesses of the historic scene were selected representatives of twenty-seven nations, including Italy and Japan; forty-five journalists as symbols of the "Fourth Estate," and favored individuals with influence, as for instance, Mrs. Wilson, wife of the President of the United States, and Marshal Foch.

At the post of honor and responsibility as titular head of the tribunal was Georges Clemenceau, who, at 3 p. m., said "The session is open," whereupon a signal was given for the admission of the Germans, headed by Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau. As soon as they had composed themselves sufficiently, Clemenceau, the Conference's spokesman—and incidentally but significantly also the symbol of victorious France—said:

"Gentlemen, Plenipotentiaries of the German Empire: It is neither the time nor the place for superfluous words. You have before you the accredited plenipotentiaries of all the small and great powers united to fight together in the war that has been so cruelly imposed upon them. The time has come when we must settle our account.

"You have asked for peace. We are ready to give you peace. We shall present to you now a book which contains our conditions. You will be given every facility to examine these conditions and the necessary time for it. Everything will be done with the courtesy that is the privilege of civilized nations.

"To give you my thought completely, you will find us ready to give you any explanation you want, but we must say at the same time that this second treaty of Versailles has cost us too much not to take on our side all the necessary precautions and guarantees that the peace shall be a lasting one.

"I will give you notice of the procedure that has been adopted by the conference for discussion, and if any one has any observations to offer he will have the right to do so. No oral discussion is to take place, and the observations of the German delegation will have to be submitted in writing.

"The German plenipotentiaries will know that they have the maximum period of fifteen days within which to present in English and French their written observations on the whole of the treaty. Before the expiration of the aforesaid period of fifteen days the German delegates will be entitled to send their reply on particular headings of the treaty or to ask questions in regard to them.

"After having examined the observations presented within the aforementioned period, the supreme council will send its answer in writing to the German delegation and determine the period within which the final global (world-wide) answer must be given by this delegation.

"The president wishes to add that when we receive, after two or three or four or five days, any observations from the German delegation on any point of the treaty, we shall not wait until the end of the fifteen days to give our answer. We shall at once proceed in the way indicated by this document."

GERMANS DENY SOLE RESPONSIBILITY

Having firmly but courteously, laconically but also inclusively and unmistakably thus spoken, M. Clemenceau handed

a bound copy of the treaty to the Secretary of the Conference, who in turn presented it to Count von Brockdorff, who, speaking in German, at once said:

"Gentlemen: We are deeply impressed with the sublime task which has brought us hither to give a durable peace to the world. We are under no illusions to the extent of our defeat and degree of our want of power. We know that the power of the German arms is broken. We know the power of the hatred which we encounter here, and we have heard the passionate demand that the vanquishers may make us pay as the vanquished, and shall punish those who are worthy of being punished.

"It is demanded from us that we shall confess ourselves to be the only ones guilty of the war. Such a confession in my mouth would be a lie. We are far from declining any responsibility that this great war of the world has come to pass and that it was made in the way in which it was made.

Not Alone Guilty.

"The attitude of the former German government at The Hague peace conference, its actions and omissions in the tragic twelve days of July have certainly contributed to the disaster. But we energetically deny that Germany and its people, who were convinced that they were making a war of defense, were alone guilty.

"Nobody will want to contend that the disaster took its course only in the disastrous moment when the successor to the throne of Austria-Hungary fell the victim of murderous hands. In the last fifty years the imperialism of all the European States has chronically poisoned the international situation. The policy of retaliation and the policy of expansion and the disregard of the rights of peoples to determine their own destiny have contributed to the illness of Europe, which saw its crisis in the world war.

"Russian mobilization took from the statesmen the possibility of healing, and gave the decision into the hands of the military powers. Public opinion in all the countries of our adversaries is resounding with the crimes which Germany is said to have committed in the war. Here also we are ready to confess wrong that may have been done.

"We have not come here to belittle the responsibility of the men who have waged the war politically and economically, or to deny any crimes which may have been committed against the rights of peoples. We repeat the declaration which has been made in the German Reichstag at the beginning of the war, that is to say, 'Wrong has been done to Belgium,' and we are willing to repair it.

Accuses Others of Crimes.

"But in the manner of making war also Germany is not the only guilty one. Every nation knows the deeds and the people, which the best nationals only remember with regret. I do not want to answer by reproaches to reproaches, but I ask them to remember, when reparation is demanded, not to forget the armistice. It took us six weeks until we got it at last, and six months until we came to know your conditions of peace.

"Crimes in war may not be excusable, but they are committed in the struggle for victory and in the defense of national existence, and passions are aroused which make the conscience of people blunt.

"The hundreds of thousands of noncombatants who have perished since November 11, by reason of the blockade, were killed with cold deliberation after our adversaries had conquered and victory had been assured to them. Think of that when you speak of guilt and punishment.

"The measure of the guilt of all those who have taken part can only be stated by an impartial inquest before a neutral commission before which all the principal persons of the tragedy are allowed to speak and to which all the archives are open. We have demanded such an inquest and we repeat this demand.

"In this conference also, where we stand toward our adversaries alone and without any allies we are not quite without protection. You yourselves have brought us an ally,

namely, the right which is guaranteed by the treaty and by the principles of peace.

Wilson's Principles Binding.

"The allies and associated governments have foresworn in the time between the fifth of October and the fifth of November, 1918, a peace of violence and have written a peace of justice on their banner. On the fifth of October, 1918, the German government proposed the principles of the President of the United States of North America as the basis of peace, and on the fifth of November their Secretary of State, Mr. Lansing, declared that the allied and associated powers agreed to this basis, with two definite deviations.

"The principles of President Wilson have thus become binding to both parties to the war—for you as well as for us, and also for our former allies. The various principles demand from us heavy national and economic sacrifices, but the holy fundamental rights of all peoples are protected by this treaty. The conscience of the world is behind it. There is no nation which might violate it without punishment.

"You will find us ready to examine upon this basis the preliminary peace which you have proposed to us with a firm intention of rebuilding in common work with you that which has been destroyed, and repairing any wrong that may have been committed, principally the wrong to Belgium, and to show to mankind new aims of political and social progress.

"Considering the tremendous quantity of problems which arise, we ought, as soon as possible, to make an examination of the principal tasks by special commissions of experts, on the basis of the treaty which you have proposed to us. In this it will be our chief task to re-establish the devastated vigor of mankind, and of all the people who have taken part by international protection of the life, health and liberty of the working classes.

Reconstruction Tasks.

"As our next aim, I consider the reconstruction of the territories of Belgium and of northern France, which have been occupied by us, and which have been destroyed by war.

"To do so we have taken upon ourselves the solemn obligation and we are resolved to execute it to the extent which shall have been agreed upon between us. This task we cannot do without the co-operation of our former adversaries. We cannot accomplish the work without the technical and financial participation of the victorious peoples, and you cannot execute it without us.

"Impoverished Europe most desires that the reconstruction shall be fulfilled with the greatest success and with as little expense as in any way possible. This desire can only be fulfilled by a clear understanding about the best methods to be employed. It would be the worst method to go on and have the work done by German prisoners of war. Certainly this work is cheap, but it would cost the world dear if hatred and despair shall seize the German people when they consider that their brothers, sons and fathers who are prisoners are kept prisoners beyond the preliminary peace in former penal work.

"Without an immediate solution of this question, which has been drawn out too long, we cannot come to a durable peace. Experts of both sides will have to examine how the German people may come up to their financial obligations to repair, without succumbing under their heavy burden. A crash would bereave those who have a right to repair, to the advantages to which they have a claim and would draw after it irretrievable disorder of the whole European economic system.

"The vanquishers, as well as the vanquished peoples, must guard against this menacing danger with its incalculable consequences. There is only one means of banishing it—unlimited confession of the economic and social solidarity of all the peoples in a free and rising League of Nations.

Hails League as Sublime.

"Gentlemen: The sublime thought to be derived from the most terrible disaster in the history of mankind is the League of Nations. The greatest progress in the development of mankind has been pronounced and will make its

way. Only if the gates of the League of Nations are thrown open to all who are of good-will can the aim be attained and only then the dead of this war will not have died in vain.

"The German people in their hearts are ready to take upon themselves their heavy lot, if the bases of peace which have been established are not any more shaken.

"The peace which may not be defended in the name of right before the world always calls forth new resistance against it. Nobody will be capable of subscribing to it with good conscience, for it will not be possible of fulfillment. Nobody could be able to take upon himself the guarantee of its execution which ought to lie in its signature.

"We shall examine the document handed to us with good-will and in the hope that the final result of our interview may be subscribed to by all of us."

With this speech registered the German plenipotentiaries withdrew, and returned to the specially designated and strictly guarded headquarters provided for them by France; and from thence, by special messenger, they dispatched to the headquarters of the German government and President Ebert and the Foreign Ministry a copy of the treaty.

PARTIAL SUMMARY OF THE TREATY.

As the complete text of the treaty is not to be given to the public until after it is signed by Germany and the Allied and Associated Powers, we are dependent for knowledge as to its contents on the official summary. As the length of even the summary precludes publication of its full text in the *ADVOCATE*, it will be necessary to select some of the more important sections dealing with the larger aspects of the international problems which the treaty both solves and creates. The section of the summary referring to the League of Nations will be found on page —.

In brief the terms imposed are these:

Alsace and Lorraine go to France. All the bridges over the Rhine on their borders are to be in French control.

The port of Danzig is internationalized permanently and most of upper Silesia is ceded to Poland, whose independence Germany recognizes. Poland also receives the province of Posen and that portion of the province of West Prussia west of the Vistula.

The Saar coal basin is internationalized temporarily. The coal mines go to France.

Germany recognizes the total independence of German-Austria and Czecho-Slovakia.

Germany's colonies are taken from her by the clause in which she renounces all her territorial and political rights outside Europe. The League of Nations will work out the mandatory system for governing these colonies.

To Belgium is given conditionally the Malmedy and Eupen districts of Prussia, bordering on Belgium, with opportunity for the inhabitants to protest. The League of Nations has the final decision.

Luxemburg is set free from the German customs union.

All concessions and territory in China must be renounced. Shantung is ceded to Japan. Germany recognizes the French in Morocco, and the British protectorate over Egypt.

German troops and authorities must evacuate Schleswig-Holstein north of the Kiel Canal within ten days after peace. A commission will be appointed to supervise a vote of self-determination in the territory, and the districts wishing to join Denmark will be ceded by Germany.

Heligoland must be demolished, and by German labor; the Kiel Canal must be opened to all nations.

The German cables in dispute are surrendered.

Germany may not have an army of more than 100,000 men, and may not resort to conscription.

She must raze all her forts for fifty kilometers east of the Rhine, and is almost entirely prohibited from producing

war material. Violation of the fifty kilometer zone restriction will be considered an act of war.

Only six capital ships, of not more than 10,000 tons each, are allowed Germany for her navy. She is permitted six light cruisers, twelve destroyers and twelve torpedo boats in addition to six battleships, but no submarines.

All civilian damages are to be reimbursed by Germany, her initial payments to be \$5,000,000,000, with subsequent payments to be secured by bonds.

She must replace shipping ton for ton, handing over a great part of her mercantile tonnage and turning out new construction for this purpose. She also must devote her economic resources to rebuilding the devastated regions.

Parts of Germany will be occupied on a diminishing scale until reparation is made.

Germany must agree to the trial of former Emperor William by an international court for a supreme offense against international morality and to the trial of others of her subjects for violations of the laws and customs of war.

The Allies and Germany accept the League of Nations, Germany, however, accepting only in principle and not as a member.

All treaties and agreements with Bolshevik Russia must be abrogated, as well as the treaty of Bucharest with Rumania.

German prisoners of war are to be repatriated, but the Allies will hold German officers as hostages for Germans accused of crimes.

Crippling German Militarism

To make certain that not within any brief time Germany may resume military power, the following provisions as to her army must be accepted by her, as set forth in

Section VI:

The demobilization of the Germany army must take place within two months of the peace. Its strength may not exceed 100,000, including 4,000 officers, with not over seven divisions of infantry, and three of cavalry, and to be devoted exclusively to maintenance of internal order and control of frontiers. Divisions may not be grouped under more than two army corps headquarters staffs. The great German general staff is abolished. The army administrative service, consisting of civilian personnel not included in the number of effectives is included in one-tenth the total in the 1913 budget. Employees of the German States, such as customs officers, first guards and coast guards, may not exceed the number in 1913. Gendarmes and local police may be increased only in accordance with the growth of population. None of these may be assembled for military training.

All establishments for the manufacturing, preparation, storage or design of arms and munitions of war, except those specifically excepted, must be closed within three months of the peace and their personnel dismissed. The exact amount of armament and munitions allowed Germany is laid down in detail by tables, all in excess to be surrendered or rendered useless. The manufacture or importation of asphyxiating, poisonous or other gases and all analogous liquids is forbidden, as well as the importation of arms, munitions and war materials. Germany may not manufacture such materials for foreign governments.

Conscription is abolished in Germany. The enlisted personnel must be maintained by voluntary enlistments for terms of 12 consecutive years, the number of discharges before the expiration of that term not in any year to exceed 5 per cent of the total effectiveness. Officers remaining in the service must agree to serve to the age of 45 years, and newly appointed officers must agree to serve actively for 25 years.

No military schools except those absolutely indispensable for the units allowed shall exist in Germany two months after the peace. No associations, such as societies of discharged soldiers, shooting or touring clubs, educational establishments or universities, may occupy themselves with

military matters. All measures of mobilization are forbidden.

All fortified works, fortresses and field works situated in German territory within a zone 50 kilometers east of the Rhine will be dismantled within three months. The construction of any new fortifications there is forbidden. The fortified works on the southern and eastern frontiers, however, may remain.

Interallied commissions of control will see to the execution of the provisions for which a time limit is set, the maximum named being three months. They may establish headquarters at the German seat of government and go to any part of Germany desired. Germany must give them complete facilities, pay their expenses, and also the expenses of execution of the treaty, including the labor and material necessary in demolition, destruction or surrender of war equipment.

Similar drastic provisions for reduction affect her navy and her aviation arm.

Making Guilt Personal

A marked innovation in the history of international relations and the evolution of humanity's effort to do justice and punish iniquity, is found in Section VII, in which the Allied and Associated Powers publicly arraign William H. of Hohenzollern, formerly German Emperor, not for an offence against criminal law, but for a supreme offence against international morality and the sanctity of treaties.

The ex-Emperor's surrender is to be requested of Holland and a special tribunal set up, composed of one judge from each of the five great powers, with full guarantees of the right of defence. It is to be guided "by the highest motives of international policy with a view of vindicating the solemn obligations of international undertakings and the validity of international morality," and will fix the punishment it feels should be imposed.

Persons accused of having committed acts in violation of the laws and customs of war are to be tried and punished by military tribunals of only one State. They will be tried before a tribunal of that State; if they affect nationals of several States they will be tried before joint tribunals of the States concerned. Germany shall hand over to the associated governments either jointly or severally all persons so accused and all documents and information necessary to insure full knowledge of the incriminating acts, the discovery of the offenders and the just appreciation of the responsibility. The accused will be entitled to name his own counsel.

Reparation

In the same section the following definitions of Germany's pecuniary obligations to the nations she has invaded and looted, whose shipping she has sunk, and whose war costs she has compelled, are to be found. There are additional stipulations defining the mode of collecting this amount, the structure of the special commission with headquarters in Paris, which will have supervision of the task for an unpredictable number of years.

The allied and associated governments affirm and Germany accepts on behalf of herself and her allies the responsibility for causing all the loss and damage to which the allied and associated governments and their nationals have been subjected as a consequence of the war imposed upon them by the aggression of the enemy States.

The total obligation of Germany to pay, as defined in the category of damages, is to be determined and notified to her after a fair hearing and not later than May 1, 1921, by an inter-allied reparation commission. At the same time a schedule of payments to discharge the obligation within 30 years shall be presented. These payments are subject to postponement in certain contingencies. Germany irrevocably recognizes the full authority of this commission, agrees to supply it with all the necessary information and to pass legislation to effectuate its findings. She further agrees

to restore to the allies cash and certain articles which can be identified.

As an immediate step towards restoration, Germany shall pay within two years 20,000,000,000 marks in either gold, goods, ships, or other specific forms of payment, with the understanding that certain expenses such as those of the armies of occupation and payments for food and raw materials may be deducted at the discretion of the allies.

While the grand total of damages assessed against Germany may exceed her ability to pay, she undertakes to make compensation for all damages caused to civilians under seven main categories: Damages by personal injury to civilians caused by acts of war directly or indirectly; damage caused to civilians by acts of cruelty ordered by the enemy and to civilians in the occupied territory; damages caused by maltreatment of prisoners; damages to the allied peoples represented by pensions and separation allowances; damages to property other than naval or military materials; damage to civilians by being forced to labor; damages in the form of levies or fines imposed by the enemy.

In periodically estimating Germany's capacity to pay, the reparation commission shall examine the German system of taxation, first to the end that the sums for reparation which Germany is required to pay shall become a charge upon all her revenues prior to that for the services or discharge of any domestic loan, and secondly so as to satisfy itself that in general the German scheme of taxation is fully as heavy proportionately as that of any of the powers represented on the commission.

The measures which the allied and associated powers shall have the right to take in case of voluntary default by Germany and which Germany agrees not to regard as acts of war, may include economic and financial prohibitions and reprisals and in general such other measures as the respective governments may determine to be necessary in the circumstances.

Prohibition of Opium

The victorious Powers sensibly have decided to make the treaty an agency for outlawing universally the growth and sale of opium, and in Section IX they commit themselves and Germany thus:

The contracting powers agree, whether or not they have signed and ratified the opium convention of January 23, 1912, or signed the special protocol opened at The Hague in accordance with resolutions adopted by the third opium conference in 1914, to bring the said convention into force by enacting within 12 months of the peace the necessary legislation.

International Labor Organization

One of the distinct triumphs of the Conference has been its inclusion within the purview of the contemplated compact joint-action setting up world-standards for labor that will conserve life, increase contentment and social justice in the economic world. In Section X, the decision arrived at is summarized.

Members of the League of Nations agree to establish a permanent organization to promote international adjustment of labor conditions, to consist of an annual international labor conference and an international labor office. The former is composed of four representatives of each State, two from the government and one each from the employers and the employed. Each of them may vote individually. It will be a deliberate legislative body, its measures taking the form of draft conventions or recommendations for legislation, which, if passed by two-thirds vote, must be submitted to the law-making authority in every State participating. Each government may either enact the terms into law, approve the principle but modify them to local needs, leave the actual legislation in case of a Federal State to local legislatures, or reject the convention altogether without further obligation.

The League of Nations is to collect and distribute information on labor throughout the world and prepare agenda

for the conference. It will publish a periodical in French and English, and possibly other languages. Each State agrees to make to it for presentation to the conference an annual report of measures taken to execute accepted conventions. The governing body consists of 24 members, 12 representing the governments, six the employers and six the employees, to serve for three years.

On complaint that any government has failed to carry out a convention to which it is a party, the governing body may make inquiries directly to that government and, in case the reply is unsatisfactory, may publish the complaint with comment. A complaint by one government against another may be referred by the governing body to a commission of inquiry nominated by the secretary-general of the league. If the commission's report fails to bring satisfactory action the matter may be taken to a permanent court of international justice for final decision. The chief reliance for securing enforcement of the law will be publicity, with a possibility of economic action in the background.

First Meeting of Labor Conference

The first meeting of the conference will take place in October, 1919, at Washington, to discuss the eight-hour day or 48-hour week; prevention of unemployment; extension and application of the international conventions adopted at Berne in 1906, prohibiting night work for women and use of white phosphorus in the manufacture of matches; employment of women and children at night or in unhealthy work, employment of women before and after childbirth; maternity benefits and employment of children as regards minimum age.

Nine principles of labor conditions are recognized on the ground that the "wellbeing, physical and moral, of the industrial wage earners is of supreme international importance." With exceptions necessitated by differences of climate, habits and economic development, they include the guiding principle that labor should not be regarded merely as a commodity or article of commerce; right of association of employers and employees; a wage adequate to maintain a reasonable standard of life; the eight-hour day or 48-hour week; a weekly rest of at least 24 hours, which should include Sunday wherever practicable; abolition of child labor and assurance of the continuation of the education and proper physical development of children; equal pay for equal work between men and women; equitable treatment of all workers lawfully resident therein, including foreigners; and a system of inspection in which women should take part.

President Ebert's Message

On May 9th President Ebert issued the following proclamation voicing officially the protest of the German Government against the terms of the treaty:

The first reply of the Allies to the sincere desire for peace on the part of our starving people was the laying down of the uncommonly hard armistice conditions. The German people, having laid down its arms, honestly observed all the obligations of the armistice, hard as they were. Notwithstanding this our opponents for six months have continued the war by maintaining the blockade. The German people bore all these burdens trusting in the promise given by the Allies in their note of November 8 that the peace would be a peace of right on the basis of President Wilson's 'fourteen points.'

Instead of that the Allies have now given us peace terms which are in contradiction to the promise given. It is unbearable for the German people and is impracticable, even if we put forth all our powers. Violence without measure would be done to the German people. From such an imposed peace fresh hatred would be bound to arise between the nations and in the course of history there would be new wars. The world would be obliged to bury every hope of a

League of Nations liberating and healing the nations and insuring peace.

The dismemberment and mangling of the German people, the delivering of German labor to foreign capitalism for the indignity of wage slavery and the permanent fettering of the young German republic by the entente's imperialism is the aim of this peace of violence. The German people's government will answer the peace proposal of violence with a proposal of a peace of right on the basis of a lasting peace of the nations.

The fact that all circles of the German people have been moved so deeply testifies that the German Government is giving expression to the united will of the German nation. The German Government will put forth every effort to secure for the German people the same national unity and independence and the same freedom of labor in economical and cultural respects which the Allies want to give to all the peoples of Europe, save only our people.

Our nation must save itself by its own action. In view of this danger of destruction the German nation and the government which it shows must stand by each other, knowing no parties. Let Germany unite in a single will to preserve German nationality and liberties. Every thought and the entire will of the nation ought now to be turned to labor for the preservation and reconstruction of our fatherland. The government appeals to all Germans in this hard hour to preserve with it mutual trust in the path of duty and in the belief in the triumph of reason and of right.

A Week of Mourning

On May 9th, the Ministry sent to the States of the "empire" the following message, calling for a week of mourning:

In deep distress and weighed down by care, the German people has waited through the months of the armistice for the peace conditions. Their publication has brought the bitterest disappointment and unspeakable grief to the entire people. A public expression ought to be given these feelings by all Germans. The Imperial Government requests that the free States have public amusement suspended for a week and allow in the theaters only such productions as correspond to the seriousness of these grievous days.

Peace Delegates File Protest

On May 10, the delegation from Germany sent to the Allied and Associated Powers two letters. The first read:

The German peace delegation has finished the first perusal of the peace conditions which have been handed over to them. They have had to realize that on essential points the basis of the peace of right agreed upon between the belligerents has been abandoned.

They were not prepared to find that the promise, explicitly given to the German people and the whole of mankind, is in this way to be rendered illusory.

The draft of the treaty contains demands which no nation could endure. Moreover, our experts hold that many of them could not possibly be carried out.

The German peace delegation will substantiate these statements in detail and transmit to the Allied and Associated Governments their observations and their material continuously.

BROCKDORFF-RANTZAU.

To this the Allied and Associated Powers replied:

The representatives of the Allied and Associated Powers have received the statement of objections of the German plenipotentiaries to the draft conditions of peace.

In reply, they wish to remind the German delegation that they have formulated the terms of the treaty with constant thought of the principles on which the armistice and the negotiations for peace were proposed. They can admit no discussion of their right to insist on the terms of the peace

substantially as drafted. They can consider only such practical suggestions as the German plenipotentiaries may have to submit.

The second letter from the German representatives, said:

The German peace delegation has the honor to pronounce its attitude on the question of the League of Nations by herewith transmitting a German program which, in the opinion of the delegation, contains important suggestions on the League of Nations problem.

The German peace delegation reserves for itself the liberty of stating its opinions on the draft of the Allied and Associated Governments in detail. In the meantime it begs to call attention to the discrepancy lying in the fact that Germany is called on to sign the statute of the League of Nations as an inherent part of the treaty draft handed to us, and, on the other hand, is not mentioned among the States which are invited to join the League of Nations.

The German peace delegation begs to inquire whether, and, if so, under what circumstances such invitation is intended.

BROCKDORFF-RANTZAU.

To which communication the Powers replied:

The receipt of the German program of the League of Nations is acknowledged. The program will be referred to the appropriate committee of the Allied and Associated Powers.

The German plenipotentiaries will find on a re-examination of the Covenant of the League of Nations that the matter of the admission of additional member States has not been overlooked, but is explicitly provided for in the second paragraph of Article I.

INTERNATIONAL LABOR LEGISLATION.

May 10. The German delegation filed the following communication:

"The German Peace Delegation to his excellency the President of the Peace Conference:

"SIR: With reference to articles 55 and 56 of the proposals for the establishment of a League of Nations submitted by us, we beg herewith to transmit the draft of an international agreement on labor law, prepared by the German government.

"The German government is of one mind with the Allied and associated governments in holding that the greatest attention must be given to labor questions. Domestic peace and the advancement of mankind depend vitally on the adjustment of this question. The demands for social justice repeatedly raised in this respect by the working classes of all nations are only partly realized in principle in section 13 of the draft of peace conditions of the Allied and associated governments on the organization of labor.

"The sublime demands have for the most part been realized in Germany, with the assistance of the working classes, as is generally acknowledged, in an exemplary manner. In order to carry them into execution everywhere in the interests of mankind the acceptance of the program of the German delegation is at least necessary. We deem it requisite that all States should join in the agreement, even though not belonging to the League of Nations.

"In order to guarantee to the working classes, for whom the proposed improvements are intended, co-operation in the framing of these provisions, the German delegation is of the opinion that representatives of the national trade union organizations of all the contracting powers should be summoned to a conference at Versailles to discuss and take decision on international labor law, before the peace negotiations are terminated.

"The proceedings of this conference should, in the opinion of the German delegation, be based on the resolutions of the international trade union conference in Bern, February 5 to 9, 1919, and the program for international labor legislation, addressed to the Peace Conference in Paris, which emanated from the decisions of the international

trade union conference in Leeds in 1916. At the request of the trade unions of Germany, we beg to inclose a copy of these resolutions, which have been adopted by the representatives of the trade union organizations of Bohemia, Bulgaria, Denmark, Germany, France, Greece, Holland, Italy, Canada, Norway, Austria, Sweden, Switzerland, Spain and Hungary.

"Accept, sir, the assurance of my highest esteem.

"(Signed)

"BROCKDORFF-RANTZAU."

To which an immediate answer was made, in the following terms:

"SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of May 10 in regard to international labor legislation, together with a draft of an international agreement on labor law. The reply of the Allied and associated governments is as follows:

"They take note of the declaration made by the German delegates that domestic peace and the advancement of mankind depend upon the adjustment of the labor question and they are convinced that such adjustment will be rendered easier in the future than in the past, as men's minds are freed from the fear of war and industry is relieved of the burden of armaments which German militarism had imposed upon it.

"Part XIII of the draft of the conditions of peace provides a means by which such adjustments can be made, and section 2 of this part of the draft lays down the principles which will progressively guide the labor organization and the League of Nations. Article 427 indicates clearly that the enumeration of the principles set forth is not exhaustive. The purpose of the labor organization is that it should promote the constant development of the international labor régime.

RIGHTS TO BE SECURED.

"The labor convention has been inserted in the treaty of peace and Germany will therefore be called upon to sign it. In the future the rights of your country to participate in the labor organization will be secured so soon as she is admitted into the League of Nations in accordance with article — of the treaty.

"It has not been thought necessary to summon a labor conference at Versailles. The conclusions of a syndical conference at Bern, which are reproduced in the draft of the international agreement on labor law referred to in the first paragraph of your letter of the 10th instant, had already been studied with the closest attention. Representatives of the trade unions had taken part in the preparation of the articles relating to labor.

"As appears, moreover, from the annex to section II of part XIII, page 200, of the program of the first session of the international labor conference to be held at Washington next October comprises the most important of the questions raised at the syndical conference at Bern. Trade unions will be invited to take part in that conference, and it will be held under direct rules which will provide for due effect being given to conclusions subject only to the assent of the competent authorities in the countries represented.

GERMAN DRAFT DEFICIENT.

"The draft of the international agreement on labor law, prepared by the German government, is deficient in that it makes no provision for the representation of labor at the international conference which is proposed. It is also inferior to the provisions submitted in part XIII of the peace conditions in the following respects:

"(A) Five years is suggested as a maximum interval between conferences. (Article VII.) The peace conditions—one year. (Article 389.)

"(B) Each country has one vote. (Article VII.) The peace conditions give a vote to each delegate, whether representing a government, employers or workers. (Article 390.)

"(C) Resolutions are only binding if carried by a majority of four-fifths of the voting countries. (Article VII.) The peace conditions provide that a majority of two-thirds only of the votes cast shall be necessary on the final vote for the adoption of a recommendation or the draft of a convention by the conference. (Article 405.)

"The Allied and associated governments are therefore of the opinion that their decisions give satisfaction to the

anxiety which the German delegate professes for social justice and insure the realization of reforms which the working classes have more than ever a right to expect after the cruel trial to which the world has been subjected during the last five years.

"Accept, sir, etc.

"(Signed)

"G. CLEMENCEAU."

REVISED COVENANT OF THE LEAGUE

Adopted by the Plenary Session of Conference, April 28

In order to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security, by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war, by the prescription of open, just and honorable relations between nations, by the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as to actual rule of conduct among governments, and by the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organized peoples with one another, the high contracting parties agree to this Covenant of the League of Nations.

[In the original preamble the last sentence read, "adopt this constitution," instead of "agree to this Covenant."]

ARTICLE I.

The original members of the League of Nations shall be those of the signatories which are named in the annex to this Covenant and also such of those other States named in the annex as shall accede without reservation to this Covenant. Such accessions shall be effected by a declaration deposited with the Secretariat within two months of the coming into force of the Covenant. Notice thereof shall be sent to all other members of the League.

Any fully self-governed State, dominion, or colony not named in the annex, may become a member of the League if its admission is agreed by two-thirds of the assembly, provided that it shall give effective guarantees of its sincere intention to observe its international obligations, and shall accept such regulations as may be prescribed by the League in regard to its military and naval forces and armaments.

Any member of the League may, after two years' notice of its intention so to do, withdraw from the League, provided that all its international obligations and all its obligations under this Covenant shall have been fulfilled at the time of its withdrawal.

[This article is new, embodying with alterations and additions the old Article VII. It provides more specifically the method of admitting new members, and adds the entirely new paragraph providing for withdrawal from the League. No mention of withdrawal was made in the original document.]

ARTICLE II.

The action of the League under this Covenant shall be effected through the instrumentality of an Assembly and of a Council, with a permanent Secretariat.

[Originally, this was a part of Article I. It gives the name Assembly to the gathering of representatives of the members of the League, formerly referred to merely as "the body of delegates."]

ARTICLE III.

The Assembly shall consist of representatives of the members of the League.

The Assembly shall meet at stated intervals and from time to time, as occasion may require, at the seat of the League, or at such other place as may be decided upon.

The Assembly may deal at its meetings with any matter

within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world.

At meetings of the Assembly each member of the League shall have one vote, and may have not more than three representatives.

[This embodies parts of the original Articles I, II, and III, with only minor changes. It refers to "members of the League" where the term "high contracting parties" originally was used, and this change is followed throughout the revised draft.]

ARTICLE IV.

The Council shall consist of representatives of the United States of America, of the British Empire, of France, of Italy, and of Japan, together with representatives of four other members of the League. These four members of the League shall be selected by the Assembly from time to time in its discretion. Until the appointment of the representatives of the four members of the League first selected by the Assembly, representatives of (blank) shall be members of the Council.

With the approval of the majority of the Assembly, the Council may name additional members of the League whose representatives shall always be members of the Council; the Council with like approval may increase the number of members of the League to be selected by the Assembly for representation to the Council.

The Council shall meet from time to time as occasion may require, and at least once a year, at the seat of the League, or at such other place as may be decided upon.

The Council may deal at its meetings with any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world.

Any member of the League not represented on the Council shall be invited to send a representative to sit as a member at any meeting of the Council during the consideration of matters specially affecting the interests of that member of the League.

At meetings of the Council each member of the League represented on the Council shall have one vote, and may have not more than one representative.

[This embodies that part of the original Article III designating the original members of the Council. The paragraph providing for increase in the membership of the Council is new.]

ARTICLE V.

Except where otherwise expressly provided in this Covenant, decisions at any meeting of the Assembly or of the Council shall require the agreement of all the members of the League represented at the meeting.

All matters of procedure at meetings of the Assembly or of the Council, the appointment of committees to investigate particular matters, shall be regulated by the Assembly or by the Council and may be decided by a majority of the members of the League represented at the meeting. The first meeting of the Assembly and the first meeting of the